1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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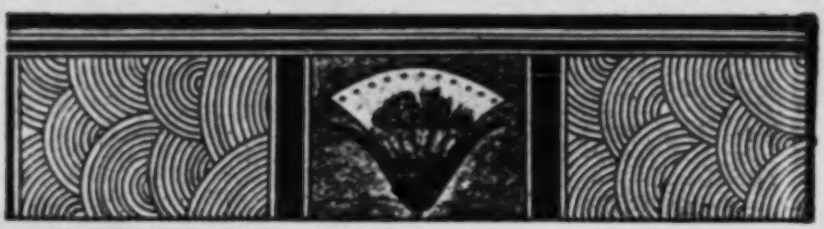

PLATE 30

TRADE POTTERY, AZTEC PERIOD

Vessels like these from Puebla and Tlaxcala were much prized in Central Mexico and obtained by trade or tribute. At the top, a design composed of a feather fan and concentric circles, taken from a hemispherical bowl. The middle cup utilizes a simple greque pattern, while at the bottom the hieroglyph for the day Reed set against a black background decorates the neck of a vase, the body of which is painted a lustrous red.

[p. 96(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

a tribal economy which was based on living off the land. The opening up of intertribal contact through settlement and warfare and the growth of material and ritualistic wants, led to the establishment of a class, the *pochteca*, whose members traveled all over Mexico, exchanging local for foreign produce. They had their own god and apparently lived in a special quarter. From the valley they carried obsidian, cloth and rope, which in the hot country they exchanged for shells, tropical feathers, jade, cacao and other regional riches. In time they performed an important political function, spying out towns to conquer and reporting on the tribute which could be exacted. There is a very modern touch about the economic and political functions of these merchants who so often brought military conquest in their train.' (See Plate 38.)

Craftsmanship, with the growth of technique, must have attracted many men to whom straight agriculture seemed drab and unrewarding. Potters, jewelers, weavers and feather-workers came to pursue these crafts to the exclusion of other labor. The enormous elaboration of the religion called into almost continual activity sculptors, masons and painters. The market, still important in Middle American Indian communities, had a profound social significance, for there, in addition to bartering his products for those of others, an Indian could hear the news and widen his social and intellectual horizons. (See Plates 34–35.)

The priesthood offered a relentless sort of career. Religion penetrated into every part of daily life, and the individual participated in great and complicated rituals. Civic eminence depended greatly on religious observance, and chiefs led in the direction of ceremonies. Therefore, it is hard to recog-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

money, and therefore emphasize personal wealth in the possession of such a commodity. Manufacture was in the handcraft stage, carried on as a supplement to the main business of raising food. Most households were self-sufficient, making whatever they required in the way of tools, utensils or clothing. However, certain towns had access to natural resources which others had not and developed special skill in exploiting them. A town might have a good clay bed, for example, and its pottery would be far superior to that of surrounding communities. Another village would be especially successful in growing peppers, while a third might have in its territory a good quality of obsidian or flint for making stone tools. Thus such products would be exchanged by one town for the produce of another and even redistributed by the same process. Shells from the Caribbean have been traded from hand to hand as far as the central United States; pottery vases from Salvador were carried to distant Tepic* in Mexico; gold ornaments from Panama appeared as votive offerings in the Sacred Well of Chichen Itza in Yucatan.[1] (See Plate 38.)

Such regional specialization was accompanied by the perfectly natural tendency of individuals to exploit what they made and produced with greatest aptitude. As technical knowledge grew specialization increased, and the market became an important institution. Each town held one at specified intervals to which people came from great distances. At Tlaltelolco the daily market was a wonder of the Western world, exciting by its lavish variety the admiring envy of the Spaniards. The importance of the market still persists in Indian communities, so much so that in Guate-

*Te-pe'ek.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

435 burdened down with gold, drowned ignominiously in the canals. Diaz, however, noted Indian usage and confined himself to four jades which he was able to exchange later and which, in his words, "served me well in healing my wounds and gathering me food."[10]

648 181 The Aztecs did not have our modern esteem for gold, so the Spaniards had great difficulty in getting it at first. The Mexican Indians responded to the invaders' demands for objects of value by offering jade and turquoise, those substances most precious to themselves. Such misguided compliance was highly irritating to Cortes and his men, who had no ethnological training; nor, it is only fair to say, would they have wanted such education, were it available. Gold [325] was valuable to the Aztecs only for the ornaments which could be made from it, and silver may have had an even greater value, since nodules were rare and the Indians had no technique for smelting the ore.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

262 24 Thus the Aztecs did not hold our ideas of value and wealth. Yet they contributed much to our prosperity and [567 well-being, partly through being forced as slaves to work 466] the gold and silver mines, whose modern economic significance they so little understood, and even more through the enrichment of the world's supply of foods. In addition to corn of several varieties, the Aztecs developed many sorts of beans, a very nutritive addition to human diet because of the high protein content. Squash, gourds, *chia*, *camotes*, green and red peppers, alligator pears and tomatoes were products of the versatile Middle American farmer, enriching the Aztec diet and that of the modern world. Trade with [137] southern Vera Cruz brought chocolate, vanilla and pineapples to the Aztec larder.[12]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Obsidian must have had important economic value for the Valley peoples, and since volcanic glass is portable and very useful for its sharp cutting edge, it was widely traded to the tribes of nonvolcanic regions. Techniques were established early in the Middle Culture, and the art of polishing this stone was known to the Teotihuacan Toltecs, who utilized it as eyes for the idols of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Ceremonial bloodletting called for a constant supply of thin blades (made by pressure flaking), some of which are exquisitely long and narrow. Yet scalpels of comparable fineness were made in Toltec and Mazapan times as well. Indeed, the principal innovation of the Aztecs was in fashioning vases from obsidian, a formidable task, owing to its hardness.[a]

The making of mirrors called much ingenuity into play. They are so rare that they must have been used solely for ritualistic magic. Blocks of obsidian were sometimes polished to produce an eerie and mysterious reflection. However, iron pyrites, burnished and shaped, were more common; and rarer examples had thin pyrite flakes laid in a mosaic and glued to a background of wood or shell. In another technique used on the coast the artisan detached a surface of pyrites in its matrix of slate, burnishing one side and carving the other to fashion a mirror with a carved back. One example, at least, is known of a mirror of marcasite with its surface so ground as to produce a magnified reflection.[a]

Stone sculpture we shall consider more conveniently under art, but the mass production of dressed stone for building must have required patience and skill to accomplish. Stoneworking throughout Middle America was achieved without metal tools. Flaking and chipping for the hard stones, pecking and hammering for the softer ones, were the preliminary

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

mid-fifteenth century both Tenochtitlan and Texcoco had grown to the point where they had to have additional supplies or else starve, so, because of this common necessity, the alliance endured fairly well.[4]

Despite their common background of language, thought, religion, custom and material culture, the Aztecs had no sense of unity. Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco, both of which are within the city limits of modern Mexico, existed side by side in complete independence for many years; not until 1473 did the Tenochcas make up their minds to conquer their neighbors. Each town and hamlet was sufficient unto itself, and its members felt no larger loyalty. In modern Teotihuacan this feeling still persists, and the members of one *barrio*, or ward, look upon those of the adjacent one as a congregation of the most horrible criminals. Not even the Spanish siege of Mexico brought unity to the Aztecs, and the Texcocans blithely joined the invaders to exterminate their former ally Tenochtitlan.

Although community was potentially hostile to community, individuals could move freely about the countryside. Trade in simple commodities was carried on extensively from the early times of the Middle Cultures. In the Aztec period the traveling merchants became a special class, and their security of body and property, preserved at first for the advantages which each town could derive from their wares, was guaranteed by the force of Aztec arms. Pilgrims going to worship at special shrines had free and unmolested passage; and a suggestion that such journeys were made in the distant past is given by the Middle Culture figurines of foreign origin. One site especially, Tetelpan, produced so great a variety of idols from such a wide area that it must

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redoubtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

776 463 464 which they journeyed. Wheresoever they slept, there they set them up; before them they did penance, they drew [their] blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.[94]

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

Those vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for whatever goods there might be; they stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They betook themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus aped, they thus took much time.

●[439] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds—the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black [825] and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

motlatocaia, inciqua cuchioque, vncan quiiilquetza, iqua tlamacoca, nqca, quicnpolomjlia, yaic quiclaubtia ya jasoub yiacatecutli, yaic quitlanjlia, yaic quimatiaquilia, yeliccaulilia:

nenjca acitinemj, calactinemj. Auh ic nentenoca, pachoca yioque: inch cmoque, ya inca inmuh, yiacatecutli:

Ommoca, mmoc calaquijoj, vel quitemotinemj, in tlein quinenenauhtinque, enanel quinequalotinemj, enanel quilacatcotinemj,

tmalcioubtinemj, hemaciubtinemj, mociouhpoubtinemj, maciouhpoubtinj, elcicioubtinj, mociouhquentinj, ymellelacitiuh, ymjequa tlalaziuh, intenal quinacujtinj, intenalomjuh intiuh:

intlanel quinanjctinemj, otlauhtli, tepetl, quitemocuja, quitlecuaja, inepichca ana: inmalicpi, intrepan ic tlatlacpa, ic nequequetza:

vel quicioyj vel quihiioaja, ynic quitemoa in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in tecuiujtl, ya epoçonalli, in tecuxjtlatl: in nepapan tlmjtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzcan, in tlauhquechol, zicltototl, in tentli, ququa: quauhtli, in tequanemel, ya ocelopetlatl.

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que se traen cabe negra lexjuna, mucizjc sin findo ninguno: que se cuece jicara, de las que se usan en españa." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (Junius Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 166, gives bombax (Bombax spp.).

94. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, 57-8) says they gathered the ashes all together, put with a ribbon, worshipping the ashes as well as the god.

95. Traveling merchants who went into the *tierra caliente* (*ciptonatia anahuac calaquini*) (Sahagun, *op. cit.*, p. 91). In *Geographie Alterthümer*, Vol. II, p. 1109, Seler notes: "*Yacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Iyacatecutli ('der Herr der Waggongespann') war der Gott der Kaufmannsführer der eigentlich ersten tolteqischen Kaufleute, die das grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten.*"

Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 169) refers to the town of Ocuituco in Amilpas as one of the towns famous for the *Xicalcoatl*.

The reference in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 370, to the *Nanahuatzeuaca*, appears to refer to a people or class of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca* [103] *tlamacazqui*.

96. Anáhuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, essentially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the term as "*todas las poblaciones, que estan cabeza de la mar.*" In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states "*Tabasco hasta Anáhuac, que dista mas de cien leguas*" (from Tula). Also, "*Estauan en la prouincia de Anáhuac, en todas, assi aquellas que dan de parte del setior de Mexico con quien estauan aliadas y confederadas . . . dan todas juntas hasta el pueblo de Tuchtepec. En esa pueblo se diuidian, unos dan a Anáhuac Ayauhca; otros dan a Anáhuac Xicalanca.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 374.

Seler defines Anáhuac: Ayauhca as the Pacific coastal lands and Anáhuac: Xicalanca as the area of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 416.

97. "*Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitztli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son prouinosas, de mucho valor, llamanse assi porque Quetzalli quiere decir plumas muy verdes, y itztli piedra de navaja, la cual es muy pulida y sin mancha ninguna, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene manchas, y muy pulida y transparente se resplandeciente.*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. "*Turcoisuit, quiere decir turquesa de las dichas . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ninguna mistura y muy turcida.*"—*Loc. cit.*

99. "*Las plumas que cria en la cola se llaman quauhli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadaña, dobligansse cuando las toca el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. "*El tercero que tiene en la cabeza esta ave (quetzaltotol) es muy hermoso y resplandeciente, llamase a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene esta ave el cuello y el pecho colorados y resplandecientes, se precian estas plumas y llamanse tzinitzcan.*"—*Loc. cit.*

Thomas also is a bird by that name. "*Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas prouinen que tiene colorado en el pecho y en las cabeças y debajo de las alas; son la mesma pinnas y la misma verdor resplandecientes.*"—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechol* or *tzopacholli* means red spoonbill or *pratinus quechalli*. It is an aquatic bird. "*Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino.*"—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives notes on *Platalea Ajaja* L. (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 433). Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 370, gives *Platalea Ajaja* name L. (*tzopacholli*).

102. Sahagún defines *tzinitzcan* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*grajo*) (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 169). Seler identifies it as *Cotinga cincta* S. Coerebus (*ibid.*, p. 434). Clark (*loc. cit.*) gives *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.

103. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164: "*Cuando vuela y estiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) verdosas al color amarillo con las negras, y asi parecen estas llamas de fuego y como son, colores en Anáhuac.*"

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484
[418]
[439]

And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and steppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[106] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[107] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and laid contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[108] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[109] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[110] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomequiuitl, or Chalmecacihuatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[111] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They brought them there at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They save them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in pochcomatl, in xiuteutli, in aquauitl, yn ezaccaiutl:

[263]

intlanel inuitilan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan ocnemj, vel calaquj, motlacaccuepa in nechichioalitica, in nexitica, in tlatolitica quintlaelhecalhuja in chaneque.

[292]

Auh intla ceanequmaltique, intla eitteque: vncan quipopoiomjctia, quiachillatilia: ça aca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nã tematitlanpa quiça, ihoatl quiualnonezcaia in motecuçoma:

[265]

ic vncan quimaca, caquilia, yepoçmaltenauh, yc quimaviziotia, ic quiuezcaiotia, in tlacauh, vncan ic oquichtia.

[431]
[301]

Auh yn iquac oalacia, yuchan: vn imiloch, ynnecuepal oquichchiuhque, yn otlatlechacico, yn otlatlechpachiuhque: inquich tlacatl quiuetza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic mumitiniaia:

[314]

mjtoa, mocnipaca, cenca quimaviztiliaia yn inopil, yn jtlaccaia yiacatecutli:

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cana in calpulco quiquetzaia: achto quitlamanjlia, yn iquac otlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecanotza, quitlamanjlia in ça muchiqa yn jtlaquaia.

796
[778]

Auh intla aca tealtiz, ihoatl caltiaia, quizcoaia in jtouh yiacatecutli: anoço ceme ihoantin yn mochcoaia, in quimotecutiaia in chicuquejuiqd, anoço chalmecacioatl, yoan acxomocuil, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, incapitzacac, ainc quijcuja, yiollodama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca altiz tlacatl:

vmpa concovaia yn tlacanecujloca azcaputzalco: motlahtlatilia, motlapapatilia, quincuecuepa, quimjhitta, yn qualtin quincuaiqui, yn acan quonamjqui, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaoque, yn acan cucuiqui, yn atle intlaciuh ca:

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796
567

ynjc ihoan quimictiquc, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhujquiztililoia vitzilohuchtli:

ypuac quinchichioaia, quintlamamaca, intech quijtlalia yn juhquj ynechichioal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn ainmo quimjctia, achtopa quinteitititiaia: mjtoa quimjnnotia, ic quimachtia in tealtiquc:

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106. Cf. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 57): Yaomiluhqui "proporcionate representa persona, que tiene ynoçe, ó habilidad, para mudar graciosamente, ó engañar, y en sabio, y sagáz (que es propio condicion de Mercaderes) . . ."

107. Cf. Sahagún (Kingsborough, p. 22) citing Hist. Rerc. Coth. Mex. B. II §80.

108. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled De las ceremonias que se hazia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lauatorio de pies, translates washing (words and hands.

109. Sahagún defines calpulli as "vjnculo del barrio, ó parcialidad" (Spanish version).

110. Sahagún defines the ceremonies in this manner: "Estos dandos que matauan a estos esclauos."—Historia general, Vol. I, p. 213.

111. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Seler (Collected Works, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicomequiuitl or Chalmecacihuatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"). Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton:

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING[**]

2,010 bundles[b] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[c] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD[*]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE[*]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

[a] *RVE*, 101:136. [b] Corrected from 2,000. [c] Corrected from 800.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Certain elements of the foregoing tribute may be traced.

Atepec, Çoquiapan, Tecuicuilco, and Xaltianguisco acquired the tribute items exacted from them—green (quetzal?) feathers and chalchiuites—by barter with other regions.[127]

Coatlan gave gold and mantles, receiving military protection in return. (The gold tribute was three marks of gold dust quarterly in early colonial days.[128])

Eztetlan and five other towns jointly paid a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[129]

Huiztepec, as one of the "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.

Itzquintepec gave part of a joint tribute of gold and cotton mantles.

Iztepexi, which had two masters, Mixtec and Mexican,[130] paid them tribute in base gold, green feathers, deer, maize, and turkeys; also, its inhabitants rendered personal services to the Mexican garrison near Oaxaca. The gold and feathers were acquired in a unique fashion, being earned by going to the Isthmus and working six months or a year there cultivating lands.[131]

Ocelotepec gave gold dust and mantles and cochineal, "all in small quantities and once a year," and received in return mantles, sandals, and feathers of many colors.[132] This exceptional treatment was doubt-

[127] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123, speaks of "çierto tributo que le pagaban en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de Plumas verdes y Piedras verdes" obtained in trade.

[128] *PNE*, 4: 133. To Moctezuma "le tributaban oro en polbo y mantas, y el tenya quidado denbialles sienpre gente de guarnyçion." To their colonial encomendero "segun dizen los antiguos naturales cada yndio tributaba en cada ochenta dyas tres marcos de oro en polbo."

[129] For the tribute of this and the two following towns, see n. 105 above.

[130] See n. 106 above.

[131] *PNE*, 4: 16. Suffering from double demands, "les pagauan de tributo oro bazo y plumeria verde y benados que tomauan en los montes y mayz y gallinas de la tierra, y leña, acudiendo con servicios personales a los mexicanos en Guaxaca ... ," all without fixed tribute dates, "y la plumeria y oro que asi tributauan lo yban a buscar a Teguantepeque y a la provincia de Soconusco e Guatemala, arquilandose en carga mercadurias de mercaderes y en beneficiar y cultivar tierras en la dicha provincia donde se detenian seys y siete meses y vn año, y otros se ocupauan en lo que por los señores y caçiques deste pueblo les hera mandado, y por lo susodicho les pagauan oro y plumas verdes, y esto trayan y guardauan para pagar se tributo, y por tener a dos señores a quien acudir con los dichos tributos muchas veces quedauan confusos, y no osauan rebelarse contra ellos porque no los destruyesen a todos."

[132] *PNE*, 4: 138. Ocelotepec "en su antigüedad tenyan por señor a monteçuma, señor de Mexico, al qual tributaban oro en polbo y mantas de que ellos se bisten, y grana, todo en poca cantidad, y en cada vn años [*sic*] vna vez, lo qual el reçebia ... y el les enbiaba otras cosas de mas balor como eran mantas y los 'cactles' que ellos traen, y plumas de muchas colores."

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S. G. Morley in his description of Copan says:

"The discovery of copper bells of Mexican origin at a number of archeaological sites in Arizona and New Mexico clearly point to trade relations between the Pueblo Indians and the tribes of Central America in pre-Columbian times; these bells very closely resemble the copper bells found in the sacred Cenates of Chichen Itza, Yucatan, which can hardly have been carried there before 1200 A. D.

[439]

Analysis has proved these metal bells to be copper with some little impurities; and it is believed they were cast by what is known as the *cire perdue* process. This method consists in using a wax model, or a core of clay covered with a wax pattern, the mould being heated, the wax melted and ran out, leaving the shape of the object to be cast, which was then filled with the melted metal. This is interesting because this process was well known to the makers of bronze ornaments in Europe, and it is a question if these little bells found in the Aztec or Maya burials were made by the *cire perdue* process; was it a discovery by the American race independent of foreign knowledge?

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This might suggest a greater antiquity for this art of casting than that in Europe and would show a considerable amount of experience in metallurgy for the aborigines, and it is surprising that more elaborate objects were not made by them. Judging from the character and variety of cast objects of bronze from South America, the ancient Peruvians were familiar with the *cire perdue* method. Did the Inca discover it? They were certainly the earliest users of the alloy bronze in America with the exception of the unknown builders of Tiahuanaco, among whose ruins have been found bronze tools. With regard to the knowledge the Aztecs had of bronze, it is difficult to establish their claim until more analyses are made of specimens of undoubted Mexican origin, indicating an alloy with a composition of about 90% copper and 10% tin. The following analyses by P. Rivet, taken from his contribution in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* show to what extent tin was used by the Aztecs in their metal objects.

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Through the establishment of direct relations with the outside, not only the public business of the Mexicans was increased, but, for the interchange of commodities, a standing market became indispensable. The pueblo of Mexico, formerly shunned by strangers, was now visited by delegations from neighboring tribes, and especially by traders. *Indian hospitality* required that these visitors should be harbored as guests, and the official house of the tribe was the place where this hospitality was afforded; it being the duty of those who occupied it to lodge and feed the strangers.[51]

ute (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 99), a statement flatly contradictory. In his previous description of the early conditions of the tribes, he represents the Mexicans as outcasts, upon which no other tribe had any claim (pp. 92 and 93). No attempt was made to conquer them, since their retreat was too impenetrable (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93. Mendieta, Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 146),—therefore their intercourse with the tribes of the mainland was *voluntary* (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467), and necessarily took the form of alliance or league. In this case *military assistance* was the main point. And indeed we do find, in what we may call the "Tezcucan" chroniclers, like Ixtlilxochitl, Torquemada, Veytia, and Clavigero, the Mexicans assisting the Tecpanecas (vide "Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XV, p. 102. Cap. XVI, p. 108. Cap. XX, pp. 131 and 132. "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 108. "Historia Antigua de Méjico," Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, pp. 236, 237, 238. Cap. XXIX, pp. 241–243. Cap. XXX, p. 250. "Storia de Messico," Lib. III, cap. VIII). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos," p. 2), who claims to follow Boturini, confirms. The military achievements of the Mexicans in the wars between the Tecpanecas and Tezcucans are not even claimed by these authors as a *due service*, but as the actions of *allies* or *confederates* of the former.

[51] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 35, in Vedia I). "The manner of his service was (of Montezuma), that every day at sunrise, about 600 Lords and leading men were in his house, which either seated themselves, or some walked around in some halls and corridors therein contained, and there remained and spent their time without entering where he was. And their servants and persons accompanying them filled two or three great courts ("patios") as well as the street, which was very large. They remained there without leaving it until night. And at the time they served to eat to the said Muteczuma, they also served all these Lords as well as their attendants. The supplies or stores ("la dispensa y botilleria") were open daily to all those who wished to eat and drink." See also Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. I, to V, concerning the receptions to traders, by the head-chiefs). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LIXIX, p. 231. He states that all his subjected chieftains, 3,600 in number, their attendants included, ate at "his court." Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 534, speaking of the messengers, says that they were lodged at the "Calpixca" or house of the community. In another place he mentions that house as the "Tecpan." See note 47). Durán describes several religious solemnities, at which the chiefs of neighboring tribes assisted, which the head-chief of Mexico had to *entertain* (Cap. XX, pp. 175 and 178. Cap. XXIII, p. 195. The chiefs of Tezcuco, Tacuba, Chalco, Xochimilco, etc., etc., were invited to attend, and on their coming they were quartered in the royal houses ("*fueron aposentados en las casas reales*"). Idem, cap. I, III, pp. 415–421. Cap. LIV, p. 498. The delegates from Chalco, Tlaxcallan, Cholullan, etc., etc., were lodged at the Tecpan ("*en su mismo palacio real*"). Cap. LVIII, p. 459). Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 83. Cap. LXI, p. 101, wherein Ahuitzotl is especially enjoined to "give to eat to his people." Cap. LXXXII, p. 144, "y los vasallos recibidos como á tales tributarios, aposentandolos, visiendolos y dándolos lo necesario para las vueltas de sus tierras . . . . . con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándolos para el sustento humano: regalados los principales teniendólos en mucho, y dandóles la honra que merecen: *llamarlos cada dia al palacio que comian con vos.*" This indicates that the hospitality was obligatory, etc.). Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XXII, p. 132).

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441 thing for another" ("tlanamacani"),[75] and such was every artisan, since, in the market place of aboriginal Mexico, every artisan bartered his own manufactures for whatever he needed for sub-

436 *al Padre Fray Luis de Figueroa.*" Santiago de Cuba, 14 Nov., 1521. Col. de Doc. Vol. I,
437 p. 361). "Hay una moneda entre ellos con que venden y compran, que se llama cacahuate, . . ." *Anonymous Conqueror* (p. 280, etc.) mentions Cacao, "e é moneta la piu comune, ma molto incomoda dopo l'oro é l'argento . . . . *Acosta* (Lib. IV, cap. 3, p. 196) "No se halla, que los Indios usassen oro, ni plata, ni metal para moneda, ni para precio de la cosas, usauanlo para ornato, como esta dicho." The statement of Torquemada is plain. While it explains the gradual ascent and development of the notion that the Mexicans had an equivalent to money, it clearly proves that only barter and exchange, and no actual buying, took place. The copper-plates which, as Mr. Bancroft justly remarks, "constituted perhaps the nearest approach to coined money," still were not intended even for such a purpose, since they were of varying size and thickness. But the story of the *copper* or *golden* "*Eagles*" given to the Mexican traders as money wherewith to buy, as faithfully reported and gravely discussed by Mr. Bancroft also, deserves some special ventilation. This story is taken from *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 342) "y dábales 1600 toldillos, que ellos llaman quauhtli para rescatar." These toldillos they divided into two parts of 800 each. Now Sahagun's editor, Sr. C. M. de Bustamante, very confidently asserts in note a, (p. 342): "Era una moneda que consistia en unos pedazos de cobre cortados en figura de T.—Clavigero, tom. I, pág. 349." The reference to *Clavigero* is for Lib. VII, cap. XXXVI. Now "Toldillo" is derived from "*toldár*" that is, to shroud or cover, and means merely a *cover*, and not a piece of metal. Used also for a covered litter or portable chair. Besides, "quauhtli" indeed signifies Eagle, but it is an evident misprint and should read "quachtli," which signifies a *mantle* or *sheet*, thus perfectly agreeing both with the "toldillo" and with the "patolquachtli" of Torquemada. The "golden eagles" of Mr. Brasseur are therefore rendered utterly useless.

291 Anyone reading *Tezosomoc* will see at a glance what a conspicuous part these mantles "Quachtli," (*Molina*, II, p. 84) played in intercourse and barter. According to *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (Letter, etc., Col. de Doc's conc. le Méxique, I, p. 251) they formed to a certain extent the basis of tribute. These cotton-sheets are well described by *Peter Martyr* ("*De nouo Orbe.*" Dec. V., cap. X, p. 230): "Concerning the shape and fashion of their garments, it is ridiculous to behold: they call it a garmente, because they couer themselves therewith. but it hath no resemblance with any other garment, of any fashion: it is only a square couering like unto that, which your holiness cast on your shoulders, sometimes in my presence, when you are about to kimbe your heade, to preserve your garments, least haire, or any other filth should fal upon them. That couering they cast about their necke, and then knitting two of the four corners under their throate, they lette the couering hang downe, which scarce couereth the bodie as lowe as the legges. Having seen these garments I ceased to wonder, that so great a number of garments was sent to Cortes, as we mentioned before: for they are all of small moment, and many of them take uppe but little roome."

441 With the absence of money the profession of merchant as one who lives from the
436 profits of his sales, becomes limited almost to what he can gather from out-side of his
437 own community, in other words, to what he can *import*. Their main and almost exclusive business consisted in effecting intercourse between the tribes. At home, every artisan sold or rather exchanged his own wares in the public markets. See *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, pp. 33 and 33), *Bernal Diez* ("*Hist. verdad.*," etc., Vedia II, p. 89, cap. XCII), *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," p. 348, Vedia I), "Cada oficio y cada mercaderia tiene su lugar señalado . . . .", *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XVI, p. 41), "El que vende piedras preciosas, ó lapidario es de esta propriedad, que sabe labrar sutilmente las piedras preciosas y pulirlas. . . ." He mentions as manufacturers of their own goods the following: "plateros de oro" (41), "Tratantes en mantas" (Cap. XVII, 42), "que venden mantas," "que venden cotaras" (Cap. XX, pp. 48, 49 and 51), "olleros," "que

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sistance. Another name for the same profession was "man who takes more than he gives" "tiamicqui,"[76] a surname or slur. Lastly they were called "puchtecatl."[77] It is with this title that traders appear, among the ancient Mexicans, as privileged people. But such they became always only under peculiar circumstances. At certain intervals of time a number of men gathered, forming a company for the purpose of visiting the market places of other tribes and exchanging their home products for those of distant regions. Such an enterprise was always a great venture, and required a peculiar organization. The participants were to be numerous enough to resist the assaults of straggling bands, but they should not appear so numerous as to arouse suspicion. They should be well armed, but at the same time anxious to avoid collision. They needed a certain number of carriers, not only for the wares which they took along, but for their supplies, still the number of these carriers could not be too great. Such an expedition was in reality not a private, but a tribal undertaking. Its members not only carried into distant countries the industry of their tribe, but they also had to observe the customs, manners, and resources of the people whom they visited. Clothed with diplomatic attributes, they often were less traders than *spies*. Thus they cautiously felt their way from tribe to tribe, from Indian fair to Indian fair, exchanging their stuff for articles not produced at home, all the while carefully noting what might be important to their own tribe. It was a highly dangerous mission. Frequently they never returned, being waylaid, or treacherously butchered even while enjoying the hospitality of a pueblo in which they had been bartering.

The safe return however of such a party to the pueblo of Mexico was always an important and joyful event. The reception was sometimes, in solemnity of exercises and in barbarous

venden comales," "que venden cestos," "que vende petacas" (Cap. XXIII, p. 56, etc.), "oficial de navajas," "Los que hacen esteras" (Cap. XXIV, p. 60). In general, nearly all the aboriginal manufacturers are mentioned by him also as selling the products of their industry, and vice versa. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 383 and 384, cap. XII).

[76] *Molina* ("Vocabulario" Parte Ia, p. 84). "Tianamacac," "tendero," "á vendedor de algo," Parte IIa, p. 127; "nite-tianamictia," "dar o trocar una cosa por otra, o recompensar" (p. 137, II). Exchange and sale appear almost synonymous.

[77] *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 84). From "nite-tiamicaquitia," "mohatrar" (II, p. 112).

[77] *Molina* (I, 84), also (II, 83, 84). *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 348, cap. V, pp. 354, 355, cap. X, p. 372, etc.), calls them also: "naoalaztomeca," literally "peddlars of the Nahuatl." *Molina* (II, p. 78). The derivation of both words I am unable to give.

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441 pomp, second only to that of the tribal forces returning from a
527 successful campaign or foray. The traders went first to the central place of worship, there to stoop before the idols in token of adoration. From the great "medicine-lodge" the band repaired to the "tecpan," where they met the council of the tribe and its leading officers. Sometimes in presence of a concourse of people, and again if required, in "secret session" the traders communicated, for the benefit of the tribe, any results of their explorations. After this their particular quarters gave them appropriate receptions also, and in some instances even the whole tribe celebrated their return with solemn dances, and a distribution of victuals corresponding to what in our time would be called a popular feast.

439 In order to realize the substantial results of such expeditions
441 we must bear in mind, that whatever they brought back had to
556 be carried by men. As already intimated, the number of these men was limited. They could not, without jeopardizing the object of their mission or enterprise, take large bodies of assistants along. Besides, as these assistants also had to carry their own food, providing for many journeys through uncultivated ("neutral") wastes, this also restricted the amount of material brought home. However precious that material might be to the Mexican tribe, it was certainly limited in quantity. Finally, custom demanded that the most highly priced articles should be offered up to worship, to the stores of the tribe and of the kins. Little material gain therefore, remained to the courageous travellers themselves. The proceeds of their enterprise were largely for the benefit of the community and the reward bestowed upon them by that community rather than the profits derived from any traffic, composed the personal gain of the participants. This reward consisted of presents out of the public stores, and especially in the marks of distinction bestowed upon them.

441 Thus the so-called "merchants" of ancient Mexico became
556 equivalent to distinguished braves, and their deeds entitled them
565 frequently to the rank of chiefs. But if, on one hand, they had no opportunity to secure anything like personal wealth, on the other the rewards of merit did not attach to their offspring. No *class* of traders, no *caste* of merchants, can therefore have existed, and if a certain well-earned consideration attached itself to the person of those who embraced occasionally such a hazardous